l: Krasheninnikov N-5 (1736-40) 1764 Kamchadal

136 *March*, when it is washed away again by the high water arising
226 from the melting of the snow; which happens regularly every year. The herrings come every day to the mouth of the outlet, as if to inform themselves whether the passage was yet open, and remain there from morning 'till evening, when they return to the deeper part of the lake. The *Kamtschadales* observing this, break holes in the ice near the mouth of the outlet, where they put down their nets, and catch great quantities. This fishery continues so long as the ice remains upon the lake. They catch them likewise with nets in the summer, at the mouths of the rivers;
262 when they boil out the fat, which is as white as butter, and more
438 delicate than that of any other fish; and send it from the lower *Kamtschatkoy* fort (where the greatest quantity is made) as a rare present, to the other forts.

CHAP. X.

Of the BIRDS.

136 *KAMTSCHATKA* abounds in birds, but the in-
223 habitants make less use of them than of roots and fishes:
433 the reason of this is, that they don't well know how to catch them; and their fishery is so advantageous to them, that to leave that and go a bird-catching would be as ridiculous as for the husbandman to leave his plough and go a shooting.

136 I shall here divide the birds into three classes: the first, sea fowls; the second, the fresh-water fowls; and the third, those which frequent the woods and fields.

CLASS

6:Antropova E-4 (no date) 1964 · RY3 Kamchadal RY3

361

View of the village of Sedanka, early 20th century.

The development of trade gave rise to the exploitation of the Itel'mens by merchants. These gave the Itel'mens goods on credit, often against their will; then, if the debt was not paid in time, they doubled or tripled the sum. Often, an Itel'men would have to pay as long as he lived for some small article, such as a knife. This type of trade did not disappear even after the formation of the Russo-American Company (1799). The company sold its wares at prices 10 times higher than their actual value. By the 1860's, the indebtedness of the Itel'mens to this company had risen to the grandiose sum of 150,000 rubles. 175 439 426

The Itel'men economy remained essentially subsistence. The fishing catch went solely for the satisfaction of the fishermen's needs, and none of it was sold. The only articles that had commodity value were furs. Villages were governed by elders, elected by the villagers and approved by the Russian administration. Very often the post of elder was hereditary. Survivals of clan organization were preserved among the Itel'mens until the 20th century. These included elements of collective production and distribution of food products—collective fishing by means of fishtraps, collective seal hunting, division of the carcass of a whale cast up on the shore, the custom of mutual aid, etc. 175 [433] [622] [648] [178] [614] [476]

The first efforts at introducing agriculture were made after the founding of a monastery (the Uspenskaya Pustyn') on Kamchatka, in the first quarter of the 18th century. In the 1740's the first group of Russian peasants was resettled in Kamchatka. Further groups of settlers followed, but agriculture enjoyed small success. The administrative method of introducing agriculture among the Itel'mens could yield no appreciable results with the primitive agricultural techniques of that time. The products of agriculture therefore held a small place in Itel'men economy. Gardening was more successful. In the second half of the 19th century, all Itel'men villages had small gardens, producing potatoes, turnips and horse-radish. But even this gardening was negligible in scope and extremely primitive. The natives were unskilled in tending plants; they dug the soil with wooden hoes, did not know about watering, and so on. 175 648 241 [192]

Cattle were first brought to Kamchatka in 1733, and again, from time to time, in succeeding years. The livestock was kept grazing all year; there was little preparation of hay. Horses were also left to their own devices, and became so wild that they were difficult to catch. They were used chiefly in autumn as riding and pack animals. Wheel transport, such as the cart, 175 648 231

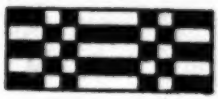
6:Antropova E-4 (no date) 1964 RY3 Kamchadal RY3

At present, the Itel'mens differ little in economy, culture and life from the neighboring Russian population of Kamchatka. They are united in fishing collectives which are well equipped with technical gear. A certain role in the Itel'men collectives is also played by sea hunting and the hunting of fur animals. 177 648 474 433

The land area devoted to gardening is growing yearly. Potatoes are grown everywhere in sufficient quantity to provide food until the next crop. The collectives have ploughs, harrows, haying-machines, and other agricultural implements. The ploughing is now done with horses. The stocks of cattle are gradually being improved; the preparation of hay is widely practiced, and warm barns have been built for the livestock. Some of the collectives, like the "Red Partisan," not only produce enough milk for their own needs, but also supply the workers and employees of the Tigil'skiy Rayon. [241]

Today, Itel'men collective-farm members live in houses of the Russian type--spacious, bright, with large glass windows and plastered walls. The house furnishings are the same as those of the Russian collective-farm members. 177 648 342 474

In all the Itel'men villages there are medical institutions, clubs and schools. The instruction is in Russian, since all Itel'mens know Russian as well as their native language. Various institutions are staffed with native personnel. Dozens of Itel'mens, both men and women, are working as teachers, accountants, and nurses in hospitals, and are also serving in elective Party and Soviet posts. 177 648 36 [191] [463]



7:Lesseps T-3 (1787-88)1790 Kamchadal

224 himſelf, and with his claws and teeth laid hold of the noſe of one of the dogs, who had no reaſon to be pleaſed with his reception. As we were deſirous of taking the animal alive, we kept back the dogs; the ſable quitted immediately his hold, and ran up a tree, where, for the third time, the nooſe, which had been tied anew, was preſented to him; it was not till the fourth attempt that the Kamtſchadale ſucceeded *. I could not have imagined that an animal, who has ſo much the appearance of cunning, would have permitted himſelf to be caught in ſo ſtupid a manner, and would himſelf have placed his head in the ſnare 224 that was held up to him. This eaſy mode 433/651 of catching ſables, is a conſiderable reſource to the Kamtſchadales, who are obliged to

* M. Kaſloff, who preſided in this chace, had the politeneſs to make me a preſent of this ſable, called in this country *ſobol*, and promiſed to add it to another, that I might bring a couple with me to France.

to

29:Cochrane T-2 (1821-22)1824 Kamchadal

I never could relish their flesh. The Kamtchatdales also derive great benefit from the whales which are numerous, and which being encountered by the Kasatka, for the sake of the tongue, as is supposed, are killed and cast ashore. Upon the whole, therefore, there are no people at whose disposition Providence has placed more of the necessaries of life, than the inhabitants of Kamtchatka. For their direct subsistence, they have fish, flesh, and fowl, wild berries and roots in great variety and abundance, sufficient doubtless to maintain a large population; while for clothing, they have immense quantities of furs of the warmest and most durable kind; and for firing and building, wood is every where to be had in the utmost profusion.

Such being the case, it becomes a matter of speculation, what could induce the aborigines to live in that filthy and famished condition which formerly characterized them. Was it from an over abundant population, or the want of means to possess themselves of food—such as guns, nets and traps? That they had means to entrap game and fish for a certain proportion of the inhabitants there can be no doubt, but whether sufficient for a large population is very questionable.

Of the people in general, I can only say they are as amiable and honest as ever. They are now established in villages all built in the old Russian style, which are clean and comfortable. During the summer or fishing season, they leave their winter resi-